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776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klañ yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏñ. In such [782] [756] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] [782] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese [177] and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One [724] turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

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702 868 Military drills do not take place, for every Meau learns as a child how to handle weapons, which also help to secure food, and the technique of warfare is relatively simple in the primeval forest and the difficult mountainous terrain of the region inhabited by the Meau. On the other hand, in case of 701 war, there follows a precise division of the army into districts, which are obliged to furnish riflemen, spear-bearers, and cross-bow archers, but no cavalry.

[634] As soon as war threatens, every great chief (tsŭn kŏăn) (see the chapter, "Political Organization") appoints a supreme commander-in-chief (tă lĕn tĕŭ), under whom stand the superior leaders (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ), to whom in turn is assigned a number of subordinate leaders (lĕn tĕŭ). Each subordinate leader commands three officers (tsŏu fŭ), each of whom is in command of 60 to 100 men. All of the supreme commanders-in-chief for their part are under the king as the supreme war-lord.

• 726 [202] Upon the order of the king, the army is called up by the tă lĕn tĕŭ, /395/ who send out messengers. Some Meau tribes seem to have also used signal drums (1). The rallying of the

1. Album Gotha, No. 81.

army followed within a few days or hours. As soon as the [714] messenger has arrived, the warriors take up their weapons and adorn themselves with the white turban as the emblem of war. [251] [484] In the meantime, the women pack some dry food for them which will serve as traveling provisions for several days, and the warriors immediately hasten as quickly as possible to the places designated as assembly points by the tă lĕn tĕŭ. If the messengers did not mention any points of assembly, the men gather in the village of the respective superior leader (ŏu lĕn tĕŭ).

[721] Every war is preceded by a formal declaration of war, to which the opponent replies in the same fashion. Among the Meau, the tă lĕn tĕŭ draw up the war plan. I could learn nothing about any special protection of the army while it is on the march. The army marches forward in small divisions in a broad front. This marching arrangement is in any case the

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726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the
727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or
[634] captured opponent and send these trophies to their tšŭń kŏáń, the great chief, who pays money for them. Thus, there are no war trophies in the true sense. No harm is done to the women and children of the enemies; they are respectively married or adopted by the warriors. Enemy property, too, is not
[613] destroyed as a rule. The war booty is brought to the king, or
[634] lacking such a one, to the great chief for distribution among the warriors of his district.

726 Usually the battles are not as bloody as one might assume from the description. The fleeing enemy can soon escape his pursuers in the primeval forest, and the women and children immediately left their villages with /396/ all their movable property as soon as the spies reported the approach of enemy troops.

721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their
[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

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Miao AE5

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M 728 usually lasts for a few days. It occurs when both sides wish to bury their dead or their provisions are exhausted and the new supply is at a standstill. Such a truce was strictly observed by the Meau, but not always by their enemies. I received a M report concerning the last war that the Meau had to endure from • 726 an informant whose grandfather, in his day, had participated 728 in it in a decisive position. At that time, the Meau took to the field against a people who had invaded their territory and called themselves păyī. The grandfather of my informant made fun of these enemies, since they were very spoiled, needed large camp fires, and wanted to have a warm meal every day. Accordingly, they were no match for the hardy Meau, since the latter were accustomed to cold meals and privations of all kinds and therefore were much more mobile, so that they could constantly attack the enemy by surprise. Thus it came about that the Meau had already killed many enemies even before the actual battles started. The Meau cut off the heads of their enemies, whereas the păyī cut off the head and shoulders of every Meau who fell into their hands. As the situation became ever more favorable for the Meau, the army leader of the enemy sent mediators to the Meau and asked for a truce of eight days, which was granted. The Meau soon ascertained, however, that their opponents had used the truce /397/ to bring in large reinforcements. The Meau then retreated without fighting and left their country to the enemy.

A 726 [701 622] No details concerning the warfare of the Akha could be learned. They lack the talent for organization of the Meau and hence fight in small separate groups under the leadership of their village chiefs. The Akha avoid open warfare and prefer ambush in the dense primeval forest.

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177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies [824] (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [924] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.